THE SPEECH ON BEHALF OF ARCHIAS THE POET

INTRODUCTION

THIS speech, slight and unimportant in its occasion and its subject, has attained, by reason of an irrelevant digression artificially, yet withal most artistically, grafted upon it, to a fame and popularity which few of its author's weightier and profounder efforts have gained. For it contains what is perhaps the finest panegyric of literature that the ancient world offers us: a panegyric which has been quoted and admired by a long series of writers from Quintilian, through Petrarch, until to-day, when it has lost none of its lustre; and which perhaps inspired a great Elizabethan scholar and gentleman to write of poetry that it "holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney-corner; and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue":—"*haec studia adolescentiam acuunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*" [a]

Cicero undertook his defence of Archias' impugned

[a] Chap. VII.

citizenship in 62. As an orator he was at the zenith of his powers, and as a statesman, by triumphantly baffling Catiline's conspiracy in the previous year, he had been lifted to the height of his prestige, and had been definitely marked out as the supporter of order and senatorial tradition as against the forces of anarchy and innovation. It was in Pompey, whose triumphs over the pirates and Mithridates had made him the most powerful figure in the state, that the hopes of these were centred. Cicero had given them a handle against himself by his violation of the letter of the constitution in having had the conspirators executed without trial; and their aim was to establish Pompey as dictator, and then, by applying their handle, to bring down Cicero, and with him the whole fabric of senatorial government of which he was the avowed protector.

Prominent among Pompey's senatorial opponents was L. Licinius Lucullus, who had returned to Rome in 64, after a series of brilliant victories in the East. The fact that he had been supplanted in his command by Pompey exacerbated the mutual antipathy between them. The senatorial party looked to Lucullus to protect them against the encroachments of one who threatened to make himself a despot, and a sort of political guerilla broke out between the partisans of each.

The prosecution of Archias was an episode in this campaign of petty vexation carried on by the Pompeians against the Luculli. It was the fashion among the Roman aristocracy to adopt and patronize a tame poet or philosopher, usually a Greek, and this was the relation in which Archias stood

to the family of the great general. Beyond what this speech tells us, and two slight references in Cicero's letters to Atticus,[a] we know nothing of him. The enactment invoked against him was the Lex Papia, which expelled foreigners from Rome, and the prosecution endeavoured to bring Archias within its range by claiming that he had no title to citizenship. Now there were two laws, under either of which Archias might have become a Roman citizen. These were (1) the Lex Julia (90), which gave the franchise to all corporate communities (*municipia*) in Italy who desired it, provided that they had not taken up arms against Rome in the Social War (90); (2) the Lex Plautia Papiria (89),[b] which gave the franchise to any *individual* who (*a*) belonged to a city of Italy having treaty relations with Rome, (*b*) was permanently resident in Italy, and (*c*) reported himself to a praetor within sixty days of the passing of the law.

The prosecutor based his case on two purely technical flaws: (1) that there was no documentary evidence of Archias being a citizen of Heraclea, (2) that his name did not appear in the Roman census-rolls. Cicero counters (1) by producing eye-witnesses of Archias' enrolment in lieu of documentary evidence which could not, owing to circumstances, be forthcoming, and invalidates (2) by pointing out that on the only two recent occasions when a careful registration had been carried out Archias had been absent from the city.[c]

[a] *Ad Att.* i. 16. 15; i. 20. 6.
[b] Chap. IV.
[c] Chaps. IV. and V.

INTRODUCTION

" Cicero's speech for Archias," says Brougham " which is exquisitely composed, but of which not more than one-sixth is to the purpose, could not have been delivered in a British Court of Justice." But, to the ancient orator, all was to the purpose which might conceivably influence a jury in his client's favour.[a] Archias the Greek made no appeal to Roman exclusiveness and contempt, but Archias the poet had done much, and might do yet more, to spread Roman fame and heighten Roman self-satisfaction. Cicero knew his jury, and skilfully weaves into his client's cause an appeal to that patriotism which was the weakness (and the strength) of the Roman character.[b]

[a] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. i. Introd. p. lxxviii. ff.
[b] Chaps. IX. and X.

THE SPEECH ON BEHALF OF ARCHIAS THE POET

[Delivered before a Court of Inquiry, 62]

1 I. Gentlemen of the Jury: Whatever talent I possess (and I realize its limitations), whatever be my oratorical experience (and I do not deny that my practice herein has been not inconsiderable), whatever knowledge of the theoretical side of my profession I may have derived from a devoted literary apprenticeship (and I admit that at no period of my life has the acquisition of such knowledge been repellent to me),—to any advantage that may be derived from all these my friend Aulus Licinius [a] has a pre-eminent claim, which belongs to him almost of right. For if I strain my mental vision far into the past, and strive to recall the most remote memories of my boyhood, the impression which such a survey leaves with me is that it was he who first fitted my back for its burden and my feet for their destined path. If this voice of mine, trained by his precepts and his exhortation, has on some few occasions proved of service, it is my client who has put into my hands the means of succouring others and perhaps saving some, and it is to his cause, therefore, that any power of help or protection, which it lies with me to exert, should be

PRO A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO

1 I. Si quid est in me ingenii, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse, earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo iure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si haec vox, huius hortatu praeceptisque conformata, non nullis aliquando saluti fuit, a quo id accepimus quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et

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[a] Cic. uses his client's Roman name, to produce a favourable effect. Why A. adopted the praenomen Aulus is uncertain; Licinius was the name of the clan (*gens*) to which the Luculli belonged.

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2 salutem ferre debemus. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quaedam in hoc facultas sit ingenii neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus umquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

3 II. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur me in quaestione legitima et in iudicio publico, cum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos iudices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine iudiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat, quaeso a vobis, ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quem ad modum spero, non molestam, ut me pro summo poëta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum litteratissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente iudicium patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paullo loqui liberius et in eius modi persona, quae propter otium ac studium minime in iudiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope
4 novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segre-

2 applied. My remarks may cause surprise; for it may be urged that the genius of the defendant is exercised in a sphere which bears no connexion with my own study and practice of oratory. But I would point out in reply that I myself have never concentrated my energies upon my professional interests to the exclusion of all others. Indeed, the subtle bond of a mutual relationship links together all arts which have any bearing upon the common life of mankind.

3 II. It may, however, be a matter for surprise in some quarters that in an inquiry dealing with statute law, in a public trial held before a specially selected praetor of the Roman people and a jury of high dignity, in the presence of a crowded audience of citizens, my speech should be made in a style out of keeping not merely with the conventions of the bar, but also with forensic language. But I crave your indulgence, an indulgence which will, I trust, cause you no inconvenience, and which is peculiarly applicable to the nature of my client's case; and I would ask you to allow me, speaking as I am on behalf of a distinguished poet and a consummate scholar, before a cultivated audience, an enlightened jury, and the praetor whom we see occupying the tribunal, to enlarge somewhat upon enlightened and cultivated pursuits, and to employ what is perhaps a novel and unconventional line of defence to suit the character of one whose studious seclusion has made him a stranger to the anxious perils of the
4 courts. Let me but assure myself that you grant me this kind concession, and I will engage to convince you of the propriety, not only of refusing to exclude my client from the civic roll, since he is a

gandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis asciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias atque ab iis artibus, quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiae—nam ibi natus est loco nobili,—celebri quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluenti, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria coepit.[1] Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaeque Graeciae sic eius adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. Erat Italia tum plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc iisdem in oppidis et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Regini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque praemiis donarunt, et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant iudicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta celebritate famae quum esset iam absentibus notus, Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter quum res gestas tum etiam studium atque aures adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, cum

[1] coepit *Ernesti*: contigit *mss.*: condidicit *conj. Reid.*

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[a] The capital of Syria. [b] 102.

citizen, but even of adding his name to that roll, supposing that he were not.

III. As soon as Archias had left behind him his boyhood, and those influences which mould and elevate the boyish mind, he applied himself to the pursuit of a literary career. First at Antioch,[a] where he had been born of gentle parents, a place which in those days was a renowned and populous city, the seat of brilliant scholarship and artistic refinement, his intellectual pre-eminence rapidly gained for him a commanding position among his contemporaries. During his subsequent travels through Greece and the rest of Asia, his arrival created such a stir that the hope of seeing him went beyond the rumour of his genius, and the hope was continually surpassed by the wonder of his actual presence. In Southern Italy at that time the arts and studies of Greece had great vogue, and excited more ardent interest in the towns of Latium also than even to-day; while here at Rome, too, owing to the rest from civil strife, they were not neglected. Accordingly, at Tarentum, at Rhegium, at Neapolis, he was presented with civic rights and other distinctions, and all that could discern true genius elected him to the circle of their acquaintance and hospitality. So, when the voice of fame had made him well known to men whom he had never met, he came to Rome, where Marius and Catulus were consuls.[b] He was fortunate to find in the occupation of that office two men, one of whom could provide him with a magnificent theme for his pen, and another whose achievements could supply him with a theme, and who could also lend him an appreciative hearing. Immediately upon his arrival, and even before he

praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum in domum suam receperunt. Sed etiam hoc non solum ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis est, domum, quae huius adolescentiae prima favit,[1] eandem esse familiarissimam senectuti.
6 Erat temporibus illis iucundus Metello illi Numidico et eius Pio filio, audiebatur a M. Aemilio, vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio, a L. Crasso colebatur, Lucullos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, adficiebatur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum M. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracliam: quae cum esset civitas aequissimo iure ac foedere, ascribi se in eam civitatem voluit, idque, cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracliensibus
7 impetravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis, SI QUI FOEDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ASCRIPTI FUISSENT: SI TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT ET SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRAETOREM

[1] favit *Madvig*: fuerit (*some* fuit) MSS.

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[a] The *toga praetexta* was worn until the age of seventeen by Roman youths; the terms of Roman life are applied to Archias for effect. See note on Chap. I.

[b] A Greek city in Lucania.

[c] *Lex Plautia Papiria*; see Introduction to this Speech.

had assumed the garb of manhood,[a] the Luculli welcomed Archias to their home. Moreover, it speaks well for my client's inborn goodness, as well as for his genius as a poet, that the home, which was the earliest resort of his youth, has given an
6 affectionate shelter to his declining years. He enjoyed at this time the warm friendship of Metellus, the hero of Numidia, and of his son Pius; he read his works to Marcus Aemilius; the doors of Quintus Catulus and his son were ever open to him; Lucius Crassus cultivated his acquaintance; he was bound by ties of close intimacy to the Luculli, Drusus, the Octavii, Cato, and the whole family of Hortensius; in a word, so honoured a position did he hold, that he was courted not only by those who wished to enjoy the elevating influences of hearing his poems, but also by those who perhaps feigned a desire for such enjoyment.

IV. After a lapse of some few years he went to Sicily with Marcus Lucullus, and, returning with him from that province, came to Heraclea.[b] Full civic privileges had been accorded to this town by the terms of its treaty with Rome, and Archias expressed a wish to be enrolled among its burgesses. His personal qualities would have been sufficient recommendation, even had Lucullus not thrown the influence of his own popularity into the scale, and his wish was readily gratified by the
7 inhabitants. He was granted the franchise by the terms of the law of Silvanus and Carbo,[c] which enacts "that all who have been admitted to citizenship in federate townships must have been resident in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and must have reported themselves to the praetor within

ESSENT PROFESSI. Cum hic domicilium Romae multos iam annos haberet, professus est apud praetorem Q. Metellum familiarissimum suum.

8 Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius, causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracliaene esse tum ascriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire, non audisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines, huius iudicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc ascriptum Heracliensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quae habemus, nihil dicere, quaerere quae habere non possumus, et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare, et, cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii ius iurandum fidemque, ea, quae depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, quas idem dicis
9 solere corrumpi, desiderare. An domicilium Romae non habuit? Is, qui tot annis ante civitatem datam

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[a] The prosecutor, otherwise unknown.
[b] Social War, 90–88.

sixty days." My client had for many years resided at Rome, and reported himself duly to the praetor Quintus Metellus, who was his personal friend.

8 If the validity of Archias' enfranchisement and his compliance with the law are the only points at issue, I now close the case for the defence. For can you, Gratius,[a] disprove either of these facts? Will you deny the enrolment at Heraclea at the time in question? We have here in court an influential witness of incorruptible honour, Marcus Lucullus, who is ready to state not that he thinks but that he knows, not that he heard but that he saw, not that he merely was present at the event but that he was the agent of it. We have here a distinguished body of representatives from Heraclea, who have come to Rome expressly for this trial to present their city's official evidence of my client's enrolment. And after all this my opponent asks that the archives of Heraclea should be brought into court, when it is a matter of universal knowledge that those archives were destroyed in the burning of the record-office during the Italian war.[b] It is absurd to ignore the evidence which lies to our hand, and to demand evidence which cannot possibly be produced; to shut the ears to the record of living men, and to insist that a written record should be forthcoming. You have the statement of a noble gentleman, whose word is his bond. You have the sworn asseveration of an incorruptible corporation. There can be no tampering with these; yet you wave them aside, and demand documentary evidence, though in the same breath you admit its

9 corruptibility. Or do you deny that my client resided at Rome, when for so many years before he was

sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romae collocavit? An non est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quae solae ex illa professione collegioque praetorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam cum Appii tabulae negligentius adservatae dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset, Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum praetorem et ad iudices venerit et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis. Quae cum ita sint, quid est quod de eius civitate dubitetis, praesertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit ascriptus? Etenim cum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte praeditis gratuito civitatem in Graecia homines impertiebant, Reginos credo aut Locrenses aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scaenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic summa ingenii praedito gloria noluisse! Quid? cum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem

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[a] Probably the father of P. Clodius, who was later Cicero's enemy.

[b] *i.e.* of Magna Graecia, as is clear from the context.

[c] In Republican times the actor's profession was considered beneath Roman dignity.

admitted to the franchise he had made Rome the depositary of all his possessions and all his hopes? Or did he fail to report himself? No; he did report himself; and, what is more, out of all the declarations made at that time before the board of praetors, his alone was supported by documents which possess all the weight of official sanction.

V. For though the burgess-rolls of Appius,[a] so it was alleged, had been carelessly kept, and though the authenticity of all such documents had been impaired by the frivolity of Gabinius, so long as his reputation survived, and by his downfall, after his conviction, yet Metellus, that most conscientious and discreet of men, displayed in regard to them such scrupulous accuracy that he came to Lucius Lentulus the praetor, and a jury, and professed himself deeply embarrassed by the erasure of a single entry. These, then, are the rolls; and here no erasure is to be seen in the entry of Aulus Licinius' name. This being so, what grounds have you for questioning his enfranchisement, especially as his name is to be found on the rolls of other cities as well as Heraclea? Citizens of the ancient Greek states[b] often went out of their way to associate with themselves in their civic privileges undistinguished men, of unimportant attainments, or of no attainments at all; and you would have me believe that the citizens of Rhegium or Locri, Neapolis or Tarentum, withheld from a brilliant genius like my client an honour which was commonly bestowed by them on play-actors.[c] Others have found some way of creeping into the rolls of the cities I have mentioned, not merely after they had received

Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserunt, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse
11 voluit, reiicietur? Census nostros requiris. Scilicet; est enim obscurum proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum fuisse, superioribus cum eodem quaestore fuisse in Asia, primis Iulio et Crasso nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed quoniam census non ius civitatis confirmat ac tantum modo indicat eum, qui sit census, ita se iam tum gessisse pro cive, iis temporibus, quem tu criminaris ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum iure esse versatum, et testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule. VI. Quaere argumenta, si quae potes: numquam enim hic neque suo neque amicorum iudicio revincetur.

12 Quaeres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures

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[a] An act for the expulsion of aliens, passed about 65; see Introduction to this Speech.
[b] 89.

the citizenship, but even after the passing of the law of Papius[a]; my client does not even avail himself of the presence of his name on these lists in which he is enrolled, because he has always desired to belong to Heraclea; and shall he there-
11 fore be rejected? You say you look in vain for his name upon our census-rolls. Yes; it is, I suppose, a close secret that at the time of the last census he was with the army on the staff of the gallant general Lucius Lucullus; at the time of the census before that he was again with Lucullus, who was quaestor in Asia, while in the first year[b] when censors, in the persons of Julius and Crassus, were appointed after his admission to the franchise, no census of any section of the people was held. But, since the census-roll is no proof of a man's civil status, and since the appearance of his name there does but indicate that when the census was taken he lived as a citizen, let me further point out that at that time my client, whom you assert to have had, even in his own view, no rights as a Roman citizen, had frequently made his will according to Roman law, had entered upon legacies left to him by Roman citizens, and had been recommended to the treasury for reward by Lucius Lucullus as proconsul. VI. Upon you lies the burden of proof, if proof you can offer; for my client will never be refuted by an appeal to any judgement which either he himself or his friends have passed upon him.

12 You will no doubt ask me, Gratius, to account for the deep interest I feel in my friend. It is because he provides refreshment for my spirit after the clamour of the courts, and repose for senses

convitio defessae conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse quod cotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui se ita litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem adferre fructum neque in aspectum lucemque proferre: me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, iudices, ut a nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit aut
13 denique somnus retardarit? Qua re quis tandem me reprehendat aut quis mihi iure suscenseat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quae quantacumque in me est, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quae summa sunt, ex
14 quo fonte hauriam sentio. Nam nisi multorum praeceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasissem nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula

[a] Lit. "that begin early." [b] Dicing was disreputable, and forbidden by law; cp. Hor. *Od.* iii. 24. 58.

jaded by their vulgar wrangling. Do you think that I could find inspiration for my daily speeches on so manifold a variety of topics, did I not cultivate my mind with study, or that my mind could endure so great a strain, did not study too provide it with relaxation? I am a votary of literature, and make the confession unashamed; shame belongs rather to the bookish recluse, who knows not how to apply his reading to the good of his fellows, or to manifest its fruits to the eyes of all. But what shame should be mine, gentlemen, who have made it a rule of my life for all these years never to allow the sweets of a cloistered ease or the seductions of pleasure or the enticements of repose to prevent me from
13 aiding any man in the hour of his need? How then can I justly be blamed or censured, if it shall be found that I have devoted to literature a portion of my leisure hours no longer than others without blame devote to the pursuit of material gain, to the celebration of festivals or games, to pleasure and the repose of mind and body, to protracted[a] banqueting, or perhaps to the gaming-board[b] or to ball-playing? I have the better right to indulgence herein, because my devotion to letters strengthens my oratorical powers, and these, such as they are, have never failed my friends in their hour of peril. Yet insignificant though these powers may seem to be, I fully realize from what source
14 I draw all that is highest in them. Had I not persuaded myself from my youth up, thanks to the moral lessons derived from a wide reading, that nothing is to be greatly sought after in this life save glory and honour, and that in their quest all bodily pains and all dangers of death or

mortis atque exsilii parvi esse ducenda, numquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum cotidianos impetus obiecissem. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas : quae iacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt, quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

15 VII. Quaeret quispiam : quid ? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt ? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare, sed tamen est certum quod respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine doctrina naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor : etiam illud adiungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid
16 praeclarum ac singulare solere exsistere. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt,

exile should be lightly accounted, I should never have borne for the safety of you all the brunt of many a bitter encounter, or bared my breast to the daily onsets of abandoned persons. All literature, all philosophy, all history, abounds with incentives to noble action, incentives which would be buried in black darkness were the light of the written word not flashed upon them. How many pictures of high endeavour the great authors of Greece and Rome have drawn for our use, and bequeathed to us, not only for our contemplation, but for our emulation! These I have held ever before my vision throughout my public career, and have guided the workings of my brain and my soul by meditating upon patterns of excellence.

15 VII. "But," an objector may ask, "were these great men, whose virtues are perpetuated in literature, themselves adepts in the learning which you describe in such fulsome terms?" It would be difficult to make a sweeping and categorical reply, but at the same time I have my answer ready. Many there have been, no doubt, exceptionally endowed in temperament and character, who, without any aid from culture, but only by a heaven-born light within their own souls, have been self-schooled in restraint and fortitude; I would even go so far as to say that natural gifts without education have more often attained to glory and virtue than education without natural gifts. Yet I do at the same time assert that when to a lofty and brilliant character is applied the moulding influence of abstract studies, the result is often inscrutably and
16 unapproachably noble. Such a character our fathers were privileged to behold in the divine figure of

divinum hominem Africanum, ex hoc C. Laelium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos, ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem : qui profecto si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adiuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam iudicaretis. Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum : haec studia adolescentiam acuunt,[1] senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

17 Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam quum in aliis videremus. VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus : nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus?

18 Quotiens ego hunc Archiam vidi, iudices,—utar

[1] acuunt *Gulielmius* : alunt *Halm* : agunt *mss.*

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[a] *i.e.* Minor ; the leader of the famous Scipionic circle and the chief promoter of Greek culture at Rome in the latter half of the second century B.C.

[b] Or, reading *alunt*, "strength"; or, reading *agunt*, "employment."

Scipio Africanus [a]; such were those patterns of continence and self-control, Gaius Laelius and Lucius Furius; such was the brave and venerable Marcus Cato, the most accomplished man of his day. These surely would never have devoted themselves to literary pursuits, had they not been aided thereby in the appreciation and pursuit of merit. But let us for the moment waive these solid advantages; let us assume that entertainment is the sole end of reading; even so, I think you would hold that no mental employment is so broadening to the sympathies or so enlightening to the understanding. Other pursuits belong not to all times, all ages, all conditions; but this gives stimulus [b] to our youth and diversion to our old age; this adds a charm to success, and offers a haven of consolation to failure. In the home it delights, in the world it hampers not. Through the night-watches, on all our journeying, and in our hours of country ease, it is our unfailing companion.

17 But it might happen that we ourselves were without literary tastes or attainments; yet even so, it would be incumbent upon us to reverence their manifestation in others. VIII. Was there a man among us so boorish or so insensible that the recent death of Roscius [c] did not stir his deepest emotions? He died full of years, and yet we all felt that an artist of such grace and brilliance deserved immunity from our mortal lot. Merely by the motions of his body he had won all our hearts; and shall those hearts be insensible to the inscrutable motions of
18 the soul and the agile play of genius? How often, gentlemen, have I seen my friend Archias,—I shall

[c] The great comedian of the Roman stage.

enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis,—quotiens ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quotiens revocatum eamdem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quae vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret. Hunc ego non diligam, non admirer, non omni ratione defendendum putem? Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et praeceptis et arte constare, poëtam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Qua re suo iure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere
19 commendati nobis esse videantur. Sit igitur, iudices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtae nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum eius in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii praeterea

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[a] The father of Roman poetry; born at Rudiae in Calabria, 239.

[b] The references are to Amphion, to the sound of whose lyre the walls of Thebes arose, and to Orpheus.

[c] A rivalry expressed in the well-known epigram:

ἑπτὰ πόλεις διερίζουσιν περὶ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου,
Σμύρνα Ῥόδος Κολοφὼν Σαλαμὶς Χίος Ἄργος Ἀθῆναι.

presume upon your kindness, since I see you give so careful a hearing to my unconventional digression,—how often, I say, have I seen him, without writing a single letter, extemporizing quantities of excellent verse dealing with current topics! How often have I seen him, when recalled, repeat his original matter with an entire change of word and phrase! To his finished and studied work I have known such approval accorded that his glory rivalled that of the great writers of antiquity. Does not such a man deserve my affection and admiration? Should I not count it my duty to strain every nerve in his defence? And yet we have it on the highest and most learned authority that while other arts are matters of science and formula and technique, poetry depends solely upon an inborn faculty, is evoked by a purely mental activity, and is infused with a strange supernal inspiration Rightly, then, did our great Ennius [a] call poets "holy," for they seem recommended to us by the
19 benign bestowal of God. Holy then, gentlemen, in your enlightened eyes let the name of poet be, inviolate hitherto by the most benighted of races! The very rocks of the wilderness give back a sympathetic echo to the voice; savage beasts have sometimes been charmed into stillness by song; [b] and shall we, who are nurtured upon all that is highest, be deaf to the appeal of poetry? Colophon asserts that Homer [c] is her citizen, Chios claims him for her own, Salamis appropriates him, while Smyrna is so confident that he belongs to her that she has even dedicated a shrine to him in her town; and many other cities besides engage in mutual strife for his possession.

pugnant inter se atque contendunt. IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? praesertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad haec studia
20 videbatur, iucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum facile praeconium patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret, eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur. Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cuius ingenio putabat
21 ea, quae gesserat, posse celebrari. Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura et regione vallatum: populi Romani exercitus eodem duce non maxima manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi

[a] Marius defeated the Cimbri at Vercellae, 102.
[b] The first Roman to teach rhetoric at Rome.

IX. These peoples, then, are ambitious to claim, even after his death, one who was an alien, merely because he was a poet; and shall a living poet be repudiated by us, though he is ours both by inclination and by the laws? Shall we do so, in spite of the fact that a short while ago he bent all the energies of his genius to celebrating the fame and glory of the Roman people? For in his youth he wrote on the Cimbrian[a] campaign, thereby winning the approbation of the great Gaius Marius himself, who was generally considered to be in-
20 sensible to such refinements. For indeed there is no man to whom the Muses are so distasteful that he will not be glad to entrust to poetry the eternal emblazonment of his achievements. It is related that the great Athenian hero, Themistocles, when asked what recital or what voice he loved best to hear, replied, "That which bears most eloquent testimony to my prowess." On a like foundation rested the deep attachment felt by Marius towards Lucius Plotius,[b] whose genius he thought well quali-
21 fied to perpetuate his exploits. Again, my client has treated in its entirety the great and difficult theme of the war with Mithridates, pursuing all its diverse operations by land and sea, and his work sheds lustre not only on the gallant and renowned Lucius Lucullus, but also upon the fame of the Roman people. For it was the Roman people who, with Lucullus at their head, opened up the Pontus, fortified as it was not only by the resources of its monarch, but also by an advantageous situation. It was an army of the Roman people, which, under the same commander, routed with a moderate force the innumerable hordes of Armenia. And it

Romani laus est urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum eiusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio atque totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam : nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur L. Lucullo dimicante cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis : nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi. Quae quorum ingeniis efferuntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur.

22 Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore. At iis laudibus certe non solum ipse qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In caelum huius proavus Cato tollitur : magnus honos populi Romani rebus adiungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur. X. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudinum hominem, maiores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracliensem, multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate eiiciemus ?

23 Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer

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[a] 73, against Mithridates.

[b] See Livy xxxviii. 56 ; remains of the tomb are still to be seen on the Via Appia.

[c] Q. Fabius Maximus (Cunctator).

[d] See note on Chap. VIII.

is to the Roman people, still under the directing skill of Lucullus, that the credit belongs of having torn away and saved the friendly city of Cyzicus from all the assaults of the king, and from being swallowed up in the ravaging jaws of war. To us shall it ever be imputed with praise that under Lucullus again we crushed a hostile fleet, slew its admirals, and fought that astonishing naval battle at Tenedos.[a] Ours, inalienably ours, are the trophies, memorials, and triumphs of that campaign; and it is the glories of the Roman people which are sounded abroad by the genius of those who laud exploits such as these.

22 Our great Ennius enjoyed the close affection of the elder Africanus, and so a marble statue of him is reputed to have been placed even in the tomb of the Scipios.[b] Yet we may be sure that the panegyric he bestowed upon his patron lends adornment not only to its theme, but also to the name of the Roman people. He exalted to heaven the Cato whose great-grandson is now with us; and great glory is added thereby to the name of the Roman people. The rule holds good in every case; the glory of universal Rome borrows an added lustre from those works which distinguish the bearers of the great names of Maximus,[c] Marcellus, or Fulvius. X. For this reason our ancestors admitted their author, a citizen of Rudiae,[d] to the franchise; and shall we eject from our franchise one for whom many states have striven, and whom Heraclea has gained, and constituted her citizen by due process of law?

23 For if anyone thinks that the glory won by the writing of Greek verse is naturally less than that accorded to the poet who writes in Latin, he is

errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Qua re si res eae, quas gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare, quod quum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et
24 laborum. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: "O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!" Et vere. Nam nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit, et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriae commoti, quasi participes eiusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt?
25 Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla quum Hispanos donaret

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[a] At W. entrance of Hellespont, S. shore.
[b] Pompey.

entirely in the wrong. Greek literature is read in nearly every nation under heaven, while the vogue of Latin is confined to its own boundaries, and they are, we must grant, narrow. Seeing, therefore, that the activities of our race know no barrier save the limits of the round earth, we ought to be ambitious that whithersoever our arms have penetrated there also our fame and glory should extend; for the reason that literature exalts the nation whose high deeds it sings, and at the same time there can be no doubt that those who stake their lives to fight in honour's cause find therein a lofty incentive to
24 peril and endeavour. We read that Alexander the Great carried in his train numbers of epic poets and historians. And yet, standing before the tomb of Achilles at Sigeum,[a] he exclaimed,—"Fortunate youth, to have found in Homer an herald of thy valour!" Well might he so exclaim, for had the *Iliad* never existed, the same mound which covered Achilles' bones would also have overwhelmed his memory. Again, did not he to whom our own age has accorded the title of Great,[b] whose successes have been commensurate with his high qualities, present with the citizenship before a mass meeting of his troops Theophanes of Mytilene, the historian of his campaigns? Were not our brave fellows, soldiers and peasants though they were, so smitten with the glamour of renown that they loudly applauded the act, feeling that they too had a share in the glory that had been shed upon their
25 leader? Accordingly, if Archias were not legally a Roman citizen already, it would have been beyond his power, presumably, to win the gift of citizenship from some military commander. Sulla, no doubt,

et Gallos, credo hunc petentem repudiasset : quem nos in contione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poëta de populo subiecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tum vendebat, iubere ei praemium tribui sub ea condicione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali poëtae duxerit aliquo tamen praemio dignam, huius ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset ?
26 Quid ? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset ? qui praesertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubae natis poëtis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed prae nobis ferendum, trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt : in eo ipso, in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de
27 se ac nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus vir et imperator, Accii, amicissimi sui,

[a] Centre of Roman culture ; mod. Cordova.

who gave it so freely to Spaniards and Gauls, would have refused it to the request of my client. It will be remembered that once at a public meeting some poetaster from the crowd handed up to that great man a paper containing an epigram upon him, improvised in somewhat unmetrical elegiacs. Sulla immediately ordered a reward to be paid him out of the proceeds of the sale which he was then holding, but added the stipulation that he should never write again. He accounted the diligent efforts of a poet worthy of some reward, bad though that poet was; and think you he would not have eagerly sought out my client, whose literary powers were so magnificent, and whose
26 pen was so ready? Again, could not his own credit or the influence of the Luculli have gained him his desire from Quintus Metellus Pius, who was his intimate friend, and who had presented the citizenship to not a few? And it must be remembered that so ambitious was Metellus to have his deeds immortalized that he even deigned to lend a hearing to poets from Corduba,[a] overladen and exotic though their style might be.

XI. Ambition is an universal factor in life, and the nobler a man is, the more susceptible is he to the sweets of fame. We should not disclaim this human weakness, which indeed is patent to all; we should rather admit it unabashed. Why, upon the very books in which they bid us scorn ambition philosophers inscribe their names! They seek advertisement and publicity for themselves on the very page whereon they pour contempt upon advertisement
27 and publicity. That gallant officer and gentleman, Decimus Brutus, adorned the vestibules of the

carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Iam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Qua re in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

28 Atque ut id libentius faciatis, iam me vobis, iudices, indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriae nimis acri fortasse, verum tamen honesto vobis confitebor. Nam quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute huius urbis atque imperii et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et iucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum adhortatus[1] sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat praeter hanc laudis et gloriae: qua quidem detracta, iudices, quid est quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo et tam brevi
29 tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? Certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum et si quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec totiens de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimo quoque virtus, quae

[1] adornavi *Klotz and Halm* (*foll. G* adortavi).

[a] See note on *Pro Plancio*, Chap. XXIV.

temples and monuments which he raised with the poems of his friend Accius [a]; more, the great Fulvius, who took Ennius with him upon his Aetolian campaign, had no misgivings in dedicating to the Muses the spoils of the god of war. Surely, then, in a city where honour has been paid to the name of poet and the shrines of the Muses by generals who have scarce doffed the panoply of battle, it would ill befit a jury of peaceful citizens to disdain to pay respect to the Muses by extending protection to their bard.

28 And the more to incline you so to do, gentlemen of the jury, I will now proceed to open to you my heart, and confess to you my own passion, if I may so describe it, for fame, a passion over-keen perhaps, but assuredly honourable. The measures which I, jointly with you, undertook in my consulship for the safety of the empire, the lives of our citizens, and the common weal of the state, have been taken by my client as the subject of a poem which he has begun; he read this to me, and the work struck me as at once so forcible and so interesting, that I encouraged him to complete it. For magnanimity looks for no other recognition of its toils and dangers save praise and glory; once rob it of that, gentlemen, and in this brief and transitory pilgrimage of life what further incentive have we to
29 high endeavour? If the soul were haunted by no presage of futurity, if the scope of her imaginings were bounded by the limits set to human existence, surely never then would she break herself by bitter toil, rack herself by sleepless solicitude, or struggle so often for very life itself. But deep in every noble heart dwells a power which plies night

noctes ac dies animum gloriae stimulis concitat atque admonet non cum vitae tempore esse dimetiendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam.

30 XII. An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quae gerebam, iam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec vero sive a meo sensu post mortem afutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

31 Qua re conservate, iudices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari cum dignitate tum etiam vetustate, ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis, causa vero eius modi, quae beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quae cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, iudices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos,

and day the goad of glory, and bids us see to it that the remembrance of our names should not pass away with life, but should endure coeval with all the ages of the future.

30 XII. Are we to show so poor a spirit to the world, we, who are exposed to all the perils and toils that beset a public career, as to think that, after having lived out our allotted span without ever drawing the breath of peace and repose, all is to die along with us? Many great men have been studious to leave behind them statues and portraits, likenesses not of the soul, but of the body; and how much more anxious should we be to bequeath an effigy of our minds and characters, wrought and elaborated by supreme talent? For my part, in the very enactment of my exploits, I felt that I was sowing broadcast to reap an undying memory throughout the whole world. It may be that after death I shall be insensible to it. It may be that, as philosophers have held, some part of my being shall yet be conscious of it. Be that as it may, now at any rate I find satisfaction in the thought and in the hope.

31 Wherefore, gentlemen, protect, I beg of you, a man whose honour you see to be attested both by the high position of his friends, and the durability of their friendship, whose genius you can estimate at its true worth by the fact that genius itself has set a premium upon it, and the righteousness of whose cause is established by the support of the law, the authority of a municipality, the evidence of Lucullus, and the burgess-rolls of Metellus. Throughout his career he has shed glory upon you, upon your generals, and upon the history of the Roman people; he is engaged upon a work which

qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur, estque ex eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur.

32 Quae de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, iudices, ea confido probata esse omnibus : quae a foro aliena iudicialique consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta, ab eo, qui iudicium exercet, certo scio.

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[a] Tradition says that this was Cicero's brother Quintus.

promises to be a glorious and undying testimony to those public perils which we have recently faced together; and he belongs to a profession which has been universally held inviolable, both in act and word. I implore you therefore, gentlemen, if such high talent deserves any commendation from men, nay more, from heaven, let him rest in the assurance of your protection, and let it be seen that so far from being assailed by your displeasure, he has been assisted by your humanity.

32 I am sure that my statement of the case, brief and straightforward as I, true to my practice, have made it, has appealed to every one of you; and I hope that my departure from the practice and the conventions of the courts, and my digression upon the subject of my client's genius, and, in general terms, upon the art which he follows, has been welcomed by you in as generous a spirit as I am assured it has been welcomed by him who presides over this tribunal.[a]